roadside <u>ghaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowandus keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowandus. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>ghaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowandus itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowandus and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowandus and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowandux, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are menial and those which are not. A successful kebabchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kebabchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowandux and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowandux, however, with its core of older families from the days before the First World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ellah, but

onsiderable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
nfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
ook service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
evy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
rushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
n the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
hile outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
ertain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
ith the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
f the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [547]
he Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
re able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
roup are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
heir daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
ne can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
erman wives, but never Armenian or Chaldeean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
uslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 837
oman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 548
anger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
ress is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
hem assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
nd wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
utwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
ommands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
uslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the _nadi_ or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Arbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowandus district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [548]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]